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765 768 washing and the throwing away of a stem of bananas and leaves in a stream, and bringing back a hen and bark-cloth; eating a mash on the hearth; the brewing of beer with the millet presented; a ritual drinking and further shaving when this is ripe; an admonition of the heir on his duties and acknowledgement of him as 'father' by the children of the deceased; sexual intercourse between the heir and the widows he inherits; the burial by each inherited woman of some of the fluids from that intercourse in her father's banana grove, and a ritual drinking of beer with her father and other close relatives.

If the deceased is a woman her brother comes to cut her husband's banana grove and seize her children, as a sign that kinship between the lineages has ceased, but he is dissuaded with gifts, and treats his sister's children with medicines. A sister is sent to replace the dead woman, the widower has intercourse with her at 'the shaving of the sprouting hair', and she returns home to bury some of the fluids in her father's grove, and drink beer with him ritually.

An account of one of the rituals which we attended in Selya which is quoted in the documents (p. 234) may give some reality to this stark outline.

(*b*) *The overt purpose and symbolism*

765 764 828 When asked why the ritual of death is performed the first reply of Nyakyusa informants was that they were driving away (*ukukaga*) the dead and that if it were neglected those for whom it should have been performed would go mad (*ukubopa ikigili*). Angombwike explained: 'In the death ritual they drive away the shade (*umyuka*) saying: "Why are you always at me, nagging at me, in dreams?" It is to swear at him (the shade) and drive him away.'

Another informant explained: 'The touching of the earth is the expression of the wish that he will not come into our dreams and thoughts any more, and he does not!' Another confirmed this saying: 'The powdered medicine and touching the earth are alike; 765 they wish to stop him (the deceased) coming into our dreams.' 764 And an Ndali informant said: 'Shaving is to get rid of the shade 775 which was on their bodies.'

There is also the implication of speeding the deceased on his way to the land of the shades, for it is believed that if the ritual is not performed he will not be welcomed by his dead kinsmen and will continue to haunt the living. Of an unfinished death ritual

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people say: '*Tukali ukunkesya unsyuka* (We have not yet bidden farewell to the shade),' *ukukesya* being the word used for bidding a courteous farewell to departing guests. Mwaisumo elaborated the point. He said: 'The death ritual is a saying good-bye, it is to see off the dead man accompanying him on his way (*ukunsindikela*); to demonstrate that we have buried him indeed, and to pray that forgetfulness may now come on us.' Another informant explained: 'Touching the earth is to say "Good-bye, friend." '

The danger of madness was given as the reason both for the whole ritual and for many separate actions in it. 'You go mad if you do not shave after a death,' said the wife of the chief Mwaihojo. 'You go mad if you keep the hair of the corpse (*inwili sya mfimba*),' said Mwandisi, the old blind historian, and he went on: 'Yes, much madness comes from the shades if you have neglected the death ritual for a wife or for parents, and the ritual at puberty also. Madness comes from the shades and from Kyala. And if a woman refuses to perform the ritual for her husband who has died, and refuses to lie down with the heir, she also goes mad.' If someone does go mad the cause is usually said to be neglect of the death ritual or some mistake in its performance.

Other types of illness are also attributed to neglect of the death ritual. Kasitile was ailing and thought that his illness was due partly to the fact that he had not completed the death ritual for a relative. Mwilabe said of the sweeping in the ritual: 'They sweep round their legs lest their bodies become swollen and sick. It is said that their bodies will swell if they attend the ritual of someone else and this is done and they themselves have not been swept over.' Several informants mentioned 'a lingering and painful death' (a terror often spoken of by the Nyakyusa) as the penalty for neglecting a ritual, and the last part of the ritual is expressly interpreted as a prophylactic against the 'gasping cough'.

Finally, it is said that the crops will not flourish if the ritual is neglected. Kakuju, a village headman of Selya, was explicit on the point: 'If you do not bury your father properly the food will disappear. They (the diviners) will tell you to find something and when beer has been left overnight outside in the banana grove you pray to the shade.' The fear that the crops will not flourish is not mentioned so frequently as the danger of madness, but it is a general notion.

The danger of madness or other illness coming on one is thought to be greatest if a man tastes the ritual food or beer, or is sprinkled

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764 by the dust, at some other funeral without having completed the
765 ritual for his own parents, and the danger of the 'gasping cough'
828 exists only when a widow, having lain with the heir, eats or drinks with her own relatives.

796 Everyone knows the connection between madness and the performance of the whole ritual and between coughing and the final act, but not everyone is conscious of the symbolism of the various events. For example, Mwakisisile, a middle-aged pagan man whom we knew well, could not interpret the details of the symbolism and he explained: 'Some ask about these things in the ritual, some do not ask. I have not asked. We only know, many of us, that in the ritual we drive the shade, who is here, away from the body, and that if we do not drive him away we run mad. But we do not understand the details of the ritual such as straining water through a leaf, or passing the baskets between the legs, so as to be able to say: "This detail means this." ' Those most conscious of the symbolism are the *abanyago*, the officiants at the family rituals and the priests of the communal rituals. Kasitile, the hereditary rain-maker of Selya, who was a close friend of Godfrey Wilson's, and formally presented him to his dead ancestors urging them 'not to be startled at a white face', was our foremost authority on the symbolism of the Selya ritual. He was more conscious of the symbolism than most people, but his interpretation was confirmed at almost every point by others. Kasitile was not paid for
[124] information—none of our informants was—but he and Godfrey Wilson exchanged gifts from time to time in the manner customary among the Nyakyusa, and he often had a meal with us. Mwandisi, a very old blind chief living on the Lake-shore plain (MuNgonde) who was regarded by the Nyakyusa themselves as an authority on history and custom, was also a friend prepared to expound the
[184] rituals. His interpretation contradicted Kasitile's on one point only—he denied that one purpose of the ritual was to bring back the shade into the house. Other informants, though less coherent, corroborated Kasitile's interpretation, which may therefore be taken as a general, not a personal one.

764 There are nine main themes in the ritual: first, the driving away
765 of the dead from the dreams of his close kinsmen, and measures to
796 prevent him 'brooding over them' (*ukobatela*)—the word is that used of a hen brooding over her chickens. Widows, in particular, must be separated from the shade of their husband before the heir (or any other man) dare have intercourse with them. Secondly, the

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764 i. *Kasitile's interpretation.* (Recorded by G. W. in Nyakyusa and
765 translated by him shortly afterwards.)[1]
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KASITILE: We go to bathe wearing leaves, we throw them away, we bathe, then we come back and shave our hair. This means we are driving away the shade (*unsyuka*), for at first he is in our bodies. Our fathers told us: 'When I die I shall not reach the place of the shades unless you do the ritual for me; those who preceded me will drive me back saying: "You are not one of us, you cannot come, they have not yet done your ritual." For the shades linger on the way at first, they do not reach their place.' We do the ritual so as to tell the shade: 'We have given you everything, now go away and may your fellow shades receive you, do not come here.'

764 When we return from bathing we put a banana in the ground with
765 a pumpkin-seed and a lentil in it. We stoop and bite a piece off, and
828 then we shave the hair. There is much idiocy (*ubulema*) if you do not perform the ritual, and madness (*ikigili*), or perhaps you will have a lingering death. The shade is in the body, he causes madness (*ikigili*), he says: 'Why have you not done the ritual?' The shades pound and stamp the body.

Mwambuputa (a village headman) joining in the conversation said:

775 All this round us [with a sweeping gesture] is the place of the shades.
764 What we have buried is only the body, to prevent it stinking, but the heart (*indumbula*) stays here.

KASITILE: The banana which we bite in the ground is like the
764 sausages of porridge of the Kukwe, it is excrement, it is filth; beca use
765 I think that if I do not perform the ritual I may run mad and eat filth.
828 Also before this they beat up a mash of cowpeas, they take it with a spoon and put it against the wall, and one by one we come and eat. This also is eating filth so that we may escape and be clean.

[177] Madness (*ikigili*)[2] is of two kinds, one comes from Kyala (but we used to say from Mbasi, we did not say Kyala) and one from ritual. Mwaipopo (the chief) had the madness (*ikigili*); it is in his family on his mother's side. This is the madness of Mbasi, they do their rituals all right. Mbasi is he who lived with my father here. He called 'Kanjuki! Kanjuki!' from the hillside; then my mother would cook him some food
764 and my father would put something out for him.[3] When we perform
765 the rituals the shades are very pleased to see it; of old you might hear
775 them clapping their hands in the evening here, after we had finished a
828 ritual. But they have gone away now. . . . Yes, the shades are filthy

[1] I have made minor changes in the translation.
[2] Distinguished from a trance or epileptic fit, *ukukoma amalago*.
[3] See *Communal Rituals among the Nyakyusa* (in preparation).

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(*banyali*), they are in the body at first, they shake it and you fall ill; they say: 'You are still muddy, you have not done the ritual.' . . . When a man dies his heart (*indumbula*) and his body (*umfimba*) separate, they are divorced, the heart with the blood (*ililopa*) and the shadow (*ilisyungulu*) are separated from the corpse which rots in the ground. The corpse is filth, it is excrement. And so when a madman, for whom they have not performed the ritual, eats filth, that is the corpse, he is still holding it, they have not done the ritual for him. If they have not done the ritual for the shade his fellows drive him back and say: 'You cannot come yet, you are still muddy, they have not bathe you in the river.' . . .

Yes, that which they do to my body, to me the heir (or the relative) they do to the shade himself. He, the corpse, is earthy, muddy. That is why we smear ourselves with mud, we mourners; it is this earth that we drive away in the ritual, it is mud, it is the corpse. . . .

The hair of the mourners which we shave in the ritual is one with the hair of the corpse, it is his. We wash and shave and anoint him and he goes to his own place. . . .

First we bite the banana with the seeds stuck into it in the ground, and then we eat bananas and seeds in the usual way. It is the food which he, the shade, ate. . . .

They seize the heir and widows at the pumpkin-seed ritual. The officiant is there, she smears ashes on their chests and puts a strand of *ilingolongofwa* creeper on their necks, then if the woman refuses the man later there is a case and she must pay the fine for adultery. If she refuses before this there is no case, and she does not pay. The ashes and creeper are signs of death, of mourning, of the corpse—they cast them away into the river.

QUESTION: The rubbing in earth—what does it represent?

KASITILE: The banana flower is the corpse. We are saying to him: 'You corpse, we have finished with you, do not come here again, it is finished for ever, do not look towards us, go away.' This earth is the same as the mud with which we smear ourselves at the burial. We bathe, we cast it away.

QUESTION: The washing at the door with medicine?

KASITILE: We wash with powdered medicine at the door because we are just going to take filth (*indafu*) in our hands—to take the bananas and pumpkin-seeds. We bathe, we wash, and then they give us the bananas. It is taboo (*mwiko*) to eat before washing. The calabash used for this washing is hung up in the porch and used for the beer later, the beer which they drink on the path after anointing themselves.

QUESTION: The bananas and lentils and pumpkin-seeds?

KASITILE: At the eating of bananas and pumpkin-seeds we do not separate them, everything is then pressed together in one place; but the banana flower we bury is separate, that is the corpse. And at the

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764 765 775 828 water when we bathe we make a separation—they take a stem of bananas, and a bark-cloth, and a hen to the water. The bananas they throw away—that is the corpse; the hen and the bark-cloth they bring back to the homestead and the officiant takes them home with her—that is the shade, is not the shade in the house with us? Do we not pray to him?

QUESTION: Putting food into the pot?

KASITILE: This food is the filth of the body. We say: 'We cast you from us, let our hearts be purified; the mud we smeared on our faces we cast it away, all our body casts you away. We are not corpses; we are putting you to rights and shaving your hair, go away to your fellows.' We begin to get rid of the earth we had on our faces so that we may anoint ourselves again. In our lineage we eat only bean mash, not bananas and millet porridge, we differ in our rituals.

QUESTION: The sweeping of rubbish on to legs and the weeping?

KASITILE: This means: 'We begin to cast you off wholly, let all the ritual that is left come to us, we throw it away.' The measures of millet are to tell the shade that So-and-so has brought millet and is doing his ritual. 'Do not think he is angry with you,' we tell him, 'he has brought this millet.' The throwing of millet from the winnowing basket on to the participants' heads as they stand in a line outside means that we cast him away, we are taking him to the river—at the river we throw away the corpse. They throw away the leaves and the stem of bananas.

QUESTION: Hitting the heads with a banana sapling in the doorway?

KASITILE: They hit the participants on the head, that is the *ndweka* disease of the dead man,[1] we are setting them to rights.

QUESTION: The stem of bananas, hen, and bark-cloth?

KASITILE: The stem of bananas is the corpse, they leave it in the water with the leaves; the bark-cloth and hen are the shade which they bring into the house.

QUESTION: The circling with the pot and putting in of food?

KASITILE: This is the shade whom they bring into the house (*bikumbeka*) when they have brought him from the water. The banana flower they bury is the same as the leaf they wear, it is the corpse which they throw away in the water.

Yes, we separate the corpse and the shade with all our might, the earth we rub our bodies in is the corpse, we throw it into the water and the shade we bring back to the house. The eating of the bean mash on [177] the wall (the old custom) and on the hearth (both old and contemporary) that is the shade in the house. He warms himself by the fire in the house, we pray to him. Putting food into the pot means: 'Leave our

[1] Not clear to me.—M. W.

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bodies altogether, go away to your friends, sit here by the hearth and warm yourself.'

QUESTION: The grinding of millet flour on to bark and the subsequent anointing of the participants with this flour in a paste, before shaving?

KASITILE: This means: 'This is your food that you ate, we give it to you.' And the smearing on the hair means: 'We have finished your ritual for you, we have left nothing out, bear us no grudge.'

QUESTION: The sweeping of rubbish (*imindu*) on to the participants' legs?

KASITILE: The rubbish is the rubbish of death, it is dirt. 'Let it come now,' we say. 'Let it not come later, may we never run mad.' The wailing (during sweeping) means: 'Go away, farewell!' We have finished the burial now, it will never be done again save once more at the beer.

QUESTION: The basket of millet between legs and over heads?

KASITILE: That is to drive him away, to tell him: 'Do not return to these your relatives here, you were in their bodies, now you are separate, we have driven you away, you are no relative of ours!' All that we do in the house there means that he is in our bodies and we are going to cast him out. The flour on the shoulder is like the flour paste in the hair, this is the corpse, we throw it away.

QUESTION: The song 'We are startled by the shade' (*Tunyomwike ilindu*)?

KASITILE: The *ilindu* is the shade, we are startled.

QUESTION: How startled?

KASITILE: Ha! Are you not startled when you run mad?[1] The heart is terribly startled, it curls upwards; when they say this phrase: 'We are startled by the *ilindu*' they quiet the heart and make it lie down again. Let him go away and be startled with his fellows!

QUESTION: The word *ilinwanwa* (the croaking bird)?

KASITILE: That is the shade that broods on the body. 'Friend,' we say to him, 'we have put you to rights, do not come to us, oh croaking bird.'

QUESTION: The ritual as a whole?

KASITILE: It means: 'We have given you everything, we have eaten filth on the hearth'—for if one runs mad one eats filth, faeces. . . .

QUESTION: What is the symbolism of pouring water on the thatch and running through the drops?

KASITILE: The ritual has many parts. We teach a person that he should do it properly and not leave out anything. Do we not fear (*ukutila*) the water for washing, the water of the corpse? When heavy rain falls do we not flee from the downpour and enter the house? That is how it is then. We mimic what he did when he was alive. . . .

[1] *Ukunyomoka ilindu* is used also for an epileptic fit.

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764 *ifi fikusoka kukyeni nunyambala bo basyuka, bo baputile abasyuka tukubakaga: lenga tukanyagwila tukubopa ikigili! Abasyuka bo bakasokaga bikujamo; papo lenga tumalile po basokile munda. Loli bikwandesya kangi tukuja nabo bwila!*)

842 What we do comes from the shades and from Kyala himself. The
831 blood is theirs and his together. Those who create (*ukubumba*) a child say: 'I am just eating at a woman,' but Kyala creates a child! If Kyala and the shades do not 'cook' [i.e. do not cause desire] you will do nothing, the penis is flaccid, but if Kyala has 'cooked' then you really do something, your heart (*indumbula*) is full of desire. Always the shades are there and we drive them away, they are there and we drive them away. . . .

775 A shade is resurrected in the body of his child (*Unsyuka ikusyuka itolo mumbeli gwa mwanake*). . . .

764 Passing the basket of pumpkin-seeds, millet, and lentils between the
775 legs and on to the head and throwing to one side means: 'Here between the legs there is work, may they go out in intercourse, and from the head where we dream, may they go out also.' Because in the ritual we say: 'Let them come into the body' at first, then we drive them away. Rubbing ourselves in the earth and passing millet between the legs means: 'May they come';[1] throwing millet and so on to one side it is to drive them away, that they may go out.

QUESTION: Which shade do you drive away?

MWANDISI: He who has just died, we drive him away.

QUESTION: What about the first ancestor?

MWANDISI: He is there at their place [the place of the shades], we drove him away long ago, he just receives him [the newly deceased].

QUESTION: Why the pumpkin-seeds in the bananas?

MWANDISI: It is the semen (*ulukungu*) for begetting children. . . .

QUESTION: Do the shades always come when a man dies?

MWANDISI: Yes, they always come, they receive their fellow. Yes, even though he has died from sorcery they come and receive him, and even though he has died from witchcraft they come, the shades receive him, and if it is from illness he has died they also come. There is no
[761] death without the shades, they always come to receive their fellow.

When the witches have 'eaten' someone the shades come to receive
764 him. No, the witches eat him alone, but the shades receive him. Some-
775 one may get up in the morning and say: 'I dreamed they ate me and I
763 was with the shades!' Then he is about to die. Sometimes someone
● 828 dreams and says: 'In the night I was in the land of the shades with so-and-so, I left him there, I escaped myself and came home.' Then his friend is about to die.

764 If you do not perform the ritual you go mad (*kukyembela ikigili*) or
775 perhaps you get very thin, and are unable to die, you are ailing and do

[1] i.e. the participants identify themselves with the deceased.

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not die. That comes from the shades when they are angry and say: 'We shall see!' It is to be finished off.

QUESTION: So the shades always come at death?

MWANDISI: Yes. See, Mwafyuma who died [the old Mwafyuma, a classificatory brother of Mwandisi, died the day before yesterday]. I dreamed at night of Mwakalukwa [a classificatory son of Mwandisi who died about 1932] and in the morning I told X here [his son-in-law who lives near was sitting with us and at once assented, 'Yes, he told me'] that I had dreamed of Mwakalukwa, and there were many deaths in the country—the people of Kisale were mourning and the peopleof Ndemba and that Mwakalukwa had said to me: 'Where are we dead to care for those who come?' And I said to X: 'If someone comes from Mwaya you will see that someone has died.' That very day my son here [Pugana his son was sitting near] came and said: 'Mwafyuma has died.'

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This dream of Mwandisi's was cited as a proof that the shades come to receive a man at death. They came to Mwandisi in a dream—the shade of Mwakalukwa came, which he took to mean that the death was to be in Mwakalukwa's country, not Mwakalinga's.

QUESTION: You said the shades come to receive a man killed by witches. Have they no power to drive away witches?

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MWANDISI: No, the shades have not the power to drive away the witches but Kyala drives them away.

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QUESTION: Kyala? You mean the headman of the village!

MWANDISI: Yes, the headman drives them off, Kyala gave him the power (or duty).

iii. *Evidence of other informants*

KISSOULE: We begin by burying the flowering head of an *ilitoki* banana—that is a person—then we rub forehead, elbow, and knee in the earth there and go to bathe. We push away the earth, that means our business above here (in the world of the living) is finished, we have really buried you, do not come here above, go to your place (below), in the world of the shades.

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MWAILAPE (a Christian): They throw the stem of bananas into the water and the bark and feathers, but if it is a fowl and the bark is good, they take them back and they belong to the officiant. Throwing away the stem of bananas means: 'We are driving you (the shade) away. Be off!' The millet which is tossed in the faces of the participants is also thrown away in the water. Tossing it in their faces means: 'This is your food which you cultivated, go away with it.'

MWAKIHILE AND OTHERS: The touching of the ground is the ex-

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764 QUESTION: What are the stones in the clefts of hands and toes?
773 MWASALEMBA: Kyala when he created men said: 'At the death ritual do this, it is the shade, it is the body.'

775 Mwasalemba went on to discuss the puberty ritual and attributed sexual desire and diarrhœa to the shades. He explained that faeces (which are buried) 'go below to the land of the shades' (*vide* p. 127; 210 ff.).

764 SYUNGU: If we leave out something a child runs off to Mwibonde
[158] [wild pasture-land] and catches hold of that which is bad and pants with madness (*ikigili*). Some go to Mwibonde and gather faggots and put them on their heads then throw them away again.

QUESTION: How is it that people ever omit a ritual?

SYUNGU: Some omit some of it. They make mistakes out of ignorance.

QUESTION: But do any omit it altogether?

[184] SYUNGU: No, only the Christians. No pagan neglects it altogether.

QUESTION: But those who have run away and are not there (e.g. women who have eloped with lovers)?

SYUNGU: Yes, indeed, it is they who neglect it, but those who are at home perform the ritual.

QUESTION: How about stealing the banana bunch?

SYUNGU: Yes, we steal it, but we tell the owner beforehand, and when we eat the mash we mix the stolen with the home-grown, that which is stolen is always a plantain and that from home is a sweet banana. The plantain is the man's and the sweet banana the woman's. And when we bathe we wear a plantain leaf, which has been stolen, in front, and a sweet banana leaf, which comes from home, behind.

MWASALEMBA:[1] The girl brought the spear of her husband and stuck it in the ground. At the end Losi (my eldest son and her full brother) pulled it up and it will always be on my wall. The spear is an essential part of the ritual; without it the ritual would go wrong. If she came with no spear we should send her back again to fetch one.

764 We drink the medicine because, when our son-in-law has died and
587 our daughter lies with another who has not been our son-in-law before, if she comes and gives us food with the filth (*indafu*) on her then we gasp and cough with *ingotolo*. It is quite different if she runs away from her husband when he is alive. Then we drink no medicine. Yes, then she comes, with *indafu* on her, and gives us food and nothing happens.
● [828] I don't know why. Kyala made us black people like this. It is when her husband dies that we drink. We drink as soon as she lies with her new husband, not after she becomes pregnant. If we see that she is pregnant before she comes we are angry. She should come first to the ritual and then conceive. She does not wait until her periods stop before coming

[1] Referring to the *ingotolo* ritual for his daughter described on p. 66.

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764 QUESTION: Why the leaves and bananas?

KAKUNE: If you do not wear these and throw them away your own children [i.e. children of the participant] will die soon after birth; you beget a daughter and she dies, a son and he dies, then people say: 'See, you did not perform the ritual.' . . .

QUESTION: What is the meaning of the death ritual?

KAKUNE: Because the deceased has died on us (*atufwelile mumbeli*), if we do not treat him, he looks on us, we are together with him, he does not move away at all, so then, we drive him off.

He then described the acts of the ritual in great detail exactly checking what Mwaikambo and I saw when Kalata's mother died (cf. pp. 238–44) except that he did not mention grinding ointment [184] at the circling round. I asked about this and he thought it was not done in his lineage but was not sure.

QUESTION: The stones between the toes?

KAKUNE: It is to make a separation, it is our separation, we are driving him off; we go into the water with pebbles and throw them away, they are the deceased, we drive him off.

QUESTION: And what about running through the house letting the water drip on you after bathing?

KAKUNE: Yes, indeed, we come from the stream carrying water which we have drawn, and flowers in our hands, and we throw the flowers on the thatch.

QUESTION: What does it mean?

764 775 KAKUNE: It is because we have come from the stream, we have driven him away in the stream, but we bring back water we have drawn and flowers—they are the deceased. It means we are with him for he has not moved (*akasama*); let us drive him out again. We throw away the flowers on the thatch and we pour water on the thatch and it trickles down on the body. It is he [the deceased] whom we receive. If we drive him away altogether at the water what will he say to us?

QUESTION: You receive him and drive him off again?

KAKUNE: We drive him off so that his whole body should not be [208] seen, because we fear to see the dead . . . and at the same time we do *not* drive him away, he will come in dreams to tell us of misdeeds (*akutubula inengwe*).

When we receive him we drive him away again at the anointing with ointment. The doctor anoints us on the toe, knee, elbow, stomach, and forehead, and says: 'I have finished them, anoint yourselves.' Then we anoint ourselves and say: 'You have moved to another village.' But at the same time we do not throw him away altogether, we pray to him

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new husband has not been sleeping with her], then at first, before she lies with him, we (her relatives) eat with her. But when the child leaves the breast and her husband begets another then she comes to perform the ritual. Otherwise we cannot eat with her. And so with a pregnant widow—at first we eat with her but when the child is born and has been weaned and her new husband begets another she comes to perform the ritual.

The new husband must send a bull or a sheep with his spear, and we who drink the beer divide the meat, saying: 'Thank you, you have nourished us.' Yesterday he sent 30s., and I, the doctor, got 1s. If it had been a bull I would have got some meat. The husband does not come himself, but he sends a friend to bring the woman. This friend does not eat or drink the medicine, but he drinks the beer without medicine and the cassava we cook. [In the ritual just completed] Mwasalemba provided three pots of beer—we drank one before and two after the ceremony. That was what the men were waiting for.

No, it never happens that one who has drunk the medicine of *ingotolo* falls sick of it afterwards, never.

The spear is taken and kept by the girl's brother at the command of her father, who says: 'Take this spear, your sister has brought it.' It is a symbol (*ikimanyilo*) of kinship, it is like the spear with which a girl was betrothed in the old days. At the betrothal the lover would stick the spear in the ground, the girl pulled it up and took it to her father, sticking it into the ground before him, and he, if he agreed, told her brother to take it up. And if there is any dispute later about cattle then the spear is proof of agreement. It has the same significance at betrothal and at the *ingotolo* ritual. Sometimes the heir has to bring cattle that have not yet been paid by the dead man. When the woman's brother takes the spear into the house at the *ingotolo* ritual, that means: 'Now you[1] have entered into the house—your house—so we bring you in.' And then she can go in.

The calling out of 'Thief' is a custom in the ritual, but it is like a song, it's not important. The firewood is shown to the woman and a bean and a grain of maize are put into a crack of the wood. That means that the ritual is complete.

No, there is no extra safety in coming to the ceremony; those who drink at home are equally protected!

iii. *Evidence of other informants*

CURRENT TALK: Some people have been told by those who have run mad, that they see a man who comes to them sometimes. When that man is with them then they lose the sense of what they are doing. The

[1] It was not clear from the context whether 'you' referred to groom or bride. The symbolism suggests the act of marriage but of this we have no direct evidence.

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158 man tells them 'Go there', and then the victim goes; perhaps he says
● 225 'Run', and then he runs where he is told. Some say that smoke comes out of the ground, rises, and goes to the bush, and that they run to the bush where the smoke ended. They say that the smoke rises from the ground and goes with great speed to the place at which it comes to an end.

And those who run mad say: 'When you fellows catch hold of me and I overcome you though you are many, it is not that I fight alone by myself with my own strength, but there are four men with me who help me. And when you tie me up they help me to loose the rope.'

MWAIKAMBO: A boy of my own age ran mad; when he recovered he told us some of what he had seen in his madness (*mundeju yaku gw kigili*). He said he had seen lots of black cows, all entering the ground, going one by one into a hole; and that he had thereupon become unconscious and run wildly about.

A Christian told me that he had a relative (a non-Christian) who ran mad and who constantly told them how the fit started in him. He said that it was when he saw in the spirit (*mundeju yaku*) a very old person wearing ragged clothes, then he ran mad. The Christian who told me this added that he thought himself that perhaps it was Satan that his kinsman saw.

[24] Those who run mad eat filthy things—mud, cowdung, human faeces, all kinds of frogs and so on. When you ask them about this they say they do not know what they are doing. And they often run about naked.

MWAKAMELA AND MWALIPOKA (two old men).

Madness takes two forms: one comes from Kyala, one from the ritual. When a man has the madness from Kyala his actions are filthy. He eats filthy things without discrimination, he loses his own sense of humanity and the sense of his friends' humanity also, he loses the sense of his own actions. This is one way of telling that a man has the madness from Kyala. Another way is this: they catch the madman and go to a doctor to treat him with medicines; well, when the doctor gives him the emetic the patient vomits butterflies. When they have made him vomit and given him another medicine too he either recovers altogether or perhaps he goes mad again later. But even if he recovers, his body is different from that of other men, and when he is angry his heart seems to be full of madness again. The madness of Kyala is the most serious.

The madness of ritual is the less serious kind; people who have it do not act in a filthy way. Their madness is like a passionate anger (*ilyeje*), that is all. When you catch such a man and take him to a doctor for the emetic we find no butterflies in the vomit. Again, if he has taken the medicine and recovered, his body is perfectly healthy and it seems as

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if he never was mad at all; not like those with the madness of Kyala, [58
their bodies are changed i.e. the internal state of the body, the heart. [23

Another way of diagnosing the madness of ritual is this: people catch it from the food of other people's ritual; if a man who has not completed the ritual of his family [who has not been through the ritual at the deaths of both his father and his mother] eats the ritual food of another family, then madness falls on him or on his children, and the victim speaks like an idiot.

Then if the man's children die the doctors see signs of the madness of ritual; it may be due to infection from other people's ritual food or from omitting the ritual of their own family. They give the surviving children medicines to drink which look towards the ritual and also they begin to perform the ritual.

The actions of those with the madness of Kyala are these: they eat filth, run about unconscious of what they are doing, and speak foolish things. In their mad state (*mumbapo ipaho*) they tell us that they lose the sense of being people and of the humanity of others also. If it is madness of ritual, the cure is to perform the ritual and also to give them the medicine of the ritual. If it is of Kyala, to give them the medicine of madness.

Asumwesya (a doctor): Madness (*ibigili*) is of two sorts: one comes from Kyala and one from ritual. The symptoms are alike; all eat filth and throw off their clothes. But when a patient is brought to a doctor, he knows, when he has made him vomit, whether they have neglected a ritual or not.

Mwasumwisa: Madness is of two sorts: one comes from we know not where, the other from the ritual. When a man has the first sort he throws off his clothes and eats filth; but the sort which comes from the ritual does not make him eat filth and he does not throw off his clothes; but he just talks nonsense.

Asumwesya: There are two sorts of madness: one is from Kyala, in which no one eats filth, they just run about wildly; and the other from the ritual, in which all eat faeces and filth.

Ukwesasa and its Wife, Jesula (Christians): In the state of madness the man's head seems to himself to be empty. When he sits or stands there is a giddy whirling before his eyes; he seems to see people and they speak with him and then, when he answers them, we others think he is talking to himself. Sometimes these people seem to be a long way off, then they call out his name, he answers, and then he begins to be mad.

Mad people see a man, very terrible, and when he comes to them they flee from him. They say he is Mlozi. This about Mlozi and about the empty head and giddiness is common report; we heard it from no particular madmen.

Another way of knowing the madness of ritual is this: if a man runs

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and fashions earth with his fingers, tying some up in leaves and rolling some up between his palms, if he does things which they do in the ritual, then they perform the whole ritual. Saga, Jonale's grandmother, did these things, but then they began to perform the ritual and at once she recovered. She just talked to herself and went on moulding earth. She could not throw her clothes away for she was sick, her death was very near. As soon as they had done the ritual and she had recovered, she died. The reason they had not performed a complete ritual for her was because she had been away at the time it was performed. She had run off with a lover. It was the ritual of her mother which was not performed for her.

It is clear that, though informants were not agreed about the distinguishing features of the two types of madness, they were agreed about its general characteristics, and that one form was connected with neglect of rituals.

Question: Why the little hut?

Mwamulenga (an old chief): When performing the ritual they build a little hut in which to carry it out. This hut tells us of the man's behaviour when alive, he lived in a house. So that now he is dead we kill his home too, and that is why they destroy the hut at the end of the ritual. They perform the ritual in a house because he lived in a house.

Question: Why the stealing of the stem of plantains?

Mwamulenga: This tells us about driving the disease away, that the disease which killed him should leave our homestead. The stem of bananas is a symbol (*chimapilo*) of the disease. We do not know where the disease came from. When we steal the bananas we think that the disease came from some other place and killed him, it has not always been in our house. That is why we go to another homestead to steal the stem of bananas. But when we are driven away with the bananas that is a symbol of driving the disease away again, we drive the disease away. Sometimes the householders come out and drive us away, sometimes they may still, and we who have come with the thief drive him away. We arrange with the householder beforehand. The meaning is the same in either case.

Question: Why the food?

Mwamulenga: The salted and unsalted food, the mush, the beans and bananas which they take out separately, the chicken, the roast bananas, those in which they put beside and pumpkin-seeds—all these they eat, for they are afraid that if they do not, but leave one of them out, then when they eat, in the ritual of other people, some of those they omitted, the ritual will infect them. So that is why they eat everything. If a man doesn't eat any chicken he will catch the disease afterwards from the very smell of a ritual chicken!

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created in the belly which matches millet and beans. These are the foods that Kyalo said are important.

MWAIKAMBO: When a woman is pregnant she fears to pass people who are at work planting, smithing, milking, or brewing beer, because they say the child in the belly, the weight (*sibusito*), is like a witch, it will damage food like witchcraft; beer is spoiled and tastes nasty, food does not grow, the smith's iron is not easily worked, the milk is not good. If a pregnant woman comes across her fellows planting she stops them for a few minutes while she passes. If they are brewing they give her a little beer to taste.

ANONYMOUS: As for avoiding food, a woman avoids especially when she has been pregnant for one or two months. It is said that if she passes through the gardens, perhaps when people are planting, or when they have already planted but the seed has not yet sprouted, the child in the belly tries to snatch the millet, and it meets the medicine (for people plant millet with a medicine, saying: 'May my millet not rot in the ground'), then perhaps the mother has a miscarriage. If the child in her belly has sprouted then she does not fear much . . . and if the millet has sprouted she does not fear much, but when it has not yet sprouted then the medicine is fierce.

Besides the symbol of the foetus with 'jaws agape' snatching food, there is a symbol of 'seed within' fighting 'seed without'. Mwaikambo was careful to point out that this interpretation was a personal one, assented to, but not volunteered, by others he consulted; however, it was later confirmed by Kaitile.

MWAIKAMBO: A pregnant woman should avoid those planting beans and millet, or straining ointment, sunning millet, or brewing beer, because there is kinship (*ubulowa*) between the child in her belly and food, we call all of them seed (*mbeju*). The seed in her belly and that outside fight; that within is fierce and overcomes that outside. To help them plant is to make friends; to knot a leaf is to bind the anger of the human seed. All those with whom I have discussed the matter agreed that this is so, but they have agreed when I began to explain it to them; none of them understand the other symbols. I discussed it with about eleven men.

KAITILE: The taboo against a pregnant woman passing millet and other seed spread out to dry is because these seeds fight with the child inside. It is seed, it defeats them; it is seed, it is water, it is blood. To bind a leaf is to bind that blood within, that it may not kill the seeds out drying. If someone else's food is being planted and a pregnant woman approaches, and does not bind a leaf and throw it in the grain basket, then the seed is insufficient to plant.

A general principle of Nyakyusa thought is the opposition of 828● 772

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like activities; things which are felt to be alike are often felt to be antagonistic. We have shown that certain of the pregnancy taboos are interpreted in terms of the opposition between seed in plants and seed in the womb, and between pumpkins in the field and pumpkins in the vagina, and we have touched on the opposition between procreation and war. Sexual intercourse, 'the war of the mats', is directly compared with war; the two are felt to be alike and therefore incompatible. Association with a menstruating or parturient woman is felt to be weakening to a warrior; continence of a warrior before battle is enjoined—'men feared to die quickly if they slept with their wives just before war.' Moreover, a menstruating wife never touches her husband's weapons lest they be weakened.

Hunting is classed with war and the same taboos apply. Added to them is the notion that, since a pregnant woman is often angry, the animals her husband hunts will be angry also, and he is in much greater danger than an ordinary hunter.

ANGOMBWIKE: If you go into the bush and you have left your wife heavy, at home, if you meet a lion it will not run off, but will injure you, maul you. And if you are many, a leopard or a lion will attack you, the heavy one, not the others.

QUESTION: Why?

ANGOMBWIKE: It is as if there was much anger. And we've noticed something else, if a lion attacks cattle it always attacks a cow in calf. And another thing. If a woman is heavy she is very bad-tempered (*akali*), it's like a passion. Perhaps the woman is bad-tempered or perhaps good, and you, the husband, are bad-tempered. Pregnancy shows in many ways. . . .

A pregnant woman has a great fire in her body, she sweats a lot and is passionate (*asiyeje*), she is fierce (*akali*). That fire is strong: we all flee from the [vagina], it is [fierce] when pregnancy begins the animals in the bush wish to kill you, the husband. That fierceness [the fire] makes them hate you; you are like a twin. A first-born child is very fierce (*akali*), so a woman is very passionate and sweats a great deal.

His wife's pregnancy puts a man in danger from wild animals, and so does a quarrel with her, quite apart from the pregnancy which tends to produce such quarrels. Mwaisumo said: 'If I go hunting after quarrelling with my wife it is very dangerous, I might be killed by a wild animal.'

Besides the idea that animals will attack the husband of a preg-

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753 681 believed to be a danger to his kin and descendants, but in a manner somewhat different from the one who has killed another. The sickness is thought to come from the ropes and is called *ingoje* after them.

Mwaikambo explained:

[783] If one member of a family commits suicide by hanging then his surviving relatives, if they do not drink a medicine, will die of the 'ropes', always. If a man hangs himself all his relatives fear; if a woman only her children.

Kasitile's wife, Kibuleli, had borne ten children, but all save one had died. He said:

It is because of the ropes of her father. They bound him at Tukuyu; he died in gaol; it is those ropes which are killing my children. I said to her father [i.e. the heir]: 'Let us go to divine,' but he has not yet agreed to do so.

The death of Mukwabila, a junior kinsman of the Chief Mwaipopo, whose funeral we attended, was attributed to the ropes used to tether cattle raided by his grandfather. Kasitile, himself a distant agnatic kinsman, explained this case also:

One of the fathers of Mukwabila was killed by the hill people. They seized him on the road. So in revenge Mwamunkha, the father of [317] Mukwabila, took twenty cows belonging to the hill people as they passed north, coming from the salt lick. This was long ago. Then Mukwabila's father omitted to kill a cow for those who had helped him to secure the cows. So they were angry and brought *ingoje*—the disease of ropes—upon him. After seizing the cattle he moved to Mwambebule's country in the hills and he was quite well, but then he came back to live here, first sending two cows to the Chief Mwaipopo, but killing for us! What sort of chief is he?' He got weak and fell ill and died. They [763] did not perform an autopsy, saying it was forbidden to do it on a chief, and his son died also and was not examined, but now when the youngest son died, Mwaipopo said: 'Let us examine him so that we may know.' And it is that old *ingoje*. . . .

The sickness of ropes (*ingoje*) is of three sorts coming from: (1) the suicide (by hanging) of a relative long ago; (2) the binding of a man by other people, as distinct from a man binding himself; and (3) the shocked astonishment of men and their breath. In dreams they put the sickness of ropes into his stomach, they say: 'May the sickness of ropes [828] come into his stomach.' The sickness of ropes lies in wait for an heir. A man dies and the sickness comes on his heir, others are all right; so it

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764 578 783 One minor quarrel occurred at a funeral we attended. Kasitile was given only a little meat and he complained, saying: 'Why do you give me a leg, I the owner of the funeral?' He took umbrage and left the funeral with his wives. Then they went to his home to say: 'We are in the wrong, we made a mistake in dividing.' Then Kasitile was satisfied and prayed over a medicine (*akata*) which they cooked to eat. If he did not pray the medicine would go bad and would not cook. He said in his prayer: 'I have no case against them, let the medicine cook, the young men just played with the meat, it is not a serious case, may the medicine cook at once.'

(c) Reconciliation

628 783 A distinction is made by the Nyakyusa between misfortune due to the *anger of senior* relatives and that due to the *anger of neighbours*,[1] and the rituals performed are theoretically distinct, though in practice they merge into one another.

578 783 A man fears the *anger* of his fellow villagers who murmur against him when he has offended them, and whose cold breath is believed to fall upon him and chill him with fever or cause a paralysis. Mature men or women fear only the anger of their own neighbours, but a young man and his wife also fear their parents' neighbours. The ritual performed to lift the curse of neighbours consists in acknowledging guilt and making an offering of beer or meat for them to feast upon; then, while they eat or drink, they *admit their anger* and express goodwill.

The doctor comes beforehand and gives the sick man medicine to drink. A cow is killed. People are there and say: '*May* this medicine help our child.' To drink without people there is like continuing the quarrel. People are there and they speak (*ukwijeja*), saying: 'Someone was angry, but no one is angry now. May this medicine help you.' who were angry are present and they are satisfied. *Ukwijeja* is to speak many things, and it is like praying (*ukwijeta*) but without actually taking water and spitting.

578 778 783 Sometimes responsibility is fixed squarely on *either shades or* neighbours, but since neighbours are said to 'help a father to murmur' against an erring son, and since they may share in beef or beer offered to the shades, the rituals merge into one another, and some offerings seem to be intended to *pacify both* the shades and the neighbours, though in Nyakyusa theory the sources of

[1] Discussed in relation to the age-village in *Good Company*, pp. 58–108.

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783 The Nyakyusa perhaps emphasize it more than their neighbours
[17] (though not more than the Jews or the Hindus), and their preoccupation with purification in the rituals is paralleled by the emphasis laid on cleanliness (*usafi*) in person, in house and courtyard, in cooking, and in disposal of excrement. Their extreme cleanliness, in contrast with their neighbours, was remarked upon by all the early travellers in the area and is still obvious.[1] Houses and courtyards are swept and garnished; pots and dishes scoured, food scrupulously covered with fresh banana leaves when it is served at feasts; a good housewife is *msafi*, she who is clean. Men wash daily in running water and children are trained to take a hoe with them when they go to defaecate, and to bury the faeces.

783 The horror of 'filth' is very closely associated with the fear of
158 madness, which is at the same time a fear of too close association
•828 with the dead. It is when the dead have not been driven away, but return in dreams; when the necessary separation of living and dead has not been achieved, that men go mad. Madness is most often spoken of as the penalty for neglect of the death ritual, but it is not, in theory, confined to that: 'All the rituals are the same, if they are neglected, men will become mad.' Besides madness, men fear sterility, debility, swollen limbs ('an unhealthy faeces') and diarrhoea 'to get rid of the filth in the belly' if the rituals are neglected, or taboos broken.

776 That a common symbolic pattern expressing common sentiments recurs in all the rituals is clear, but it is also true that each ritual is characterized by peculiar sentiments and symbols. The funeral rites are first and foremost an expression of grief—kinsmen and neighbours gather to weep for the dead. Their grief is symbolized by [illegible] crying with mud and ash, wearing mourning bells, and the song of farewell at the hearth. It is true that, in the later stages of the funeral, friends seek to comfort the chief mourners with cheerful songs and dances, and in one aspect the funeral ritual is an assertion of life, but grief not joy is its dominant note. By contrast, the ritual of puberty and marriage is a rejoicing—rejoicing 'because our child has grown up', because she is virgin, because there is feasting, because there is a marriage.

831 Elements peculiar to the puberty ritual are the celebration of virginity by killing a bull, and the prayer for blessing when its

[1] cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, pp. 37-8.

[i.e., the corruption of impurity associated with physiological functions — Ed.]

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My bull was wounded. When I tried to kill it, it troubled me, it did not die. I took a banana sapling and chewed it and prayed to my fathers, saying: 'This bull has been wounded because it was destroying people's crops. I am killing it because the people are angry with me and they might spear me in the night if I don't kill it.' My son struck it the third time, then it bellowed and I said: 'Yes, they have heard my prayer,' and it fell down and died. The shades were preventing it dying because they liked it to be alive. The whole country liked this bull because of its beautiful bellowing.

The shades are very real to an old man like Mwakwelebeja:

We live with the shades, constantly the fathers come to us, and also a wife who has died. The shades rise and come to us. In the morning I wake up and tell my wife the shades came to me, I slept with them, and with the wife who has died.

QUESTION: Why do they come?

MWAKWELEBEJA: You just dream. Sometimes they speak something, and in the morning I tell my wife they said so-and-so. Sometimes they bring food. If a sick man dreams that he eats their food he will die. If he dreams that he visits them and they drive him away he will recover. Sometimes I dream of my father or of my mother, sometimes of the villagers, So-and-so, and So-and-so. Yes, we fear to dream of the shades, even if we don't eat food. We fear that if they come often we will follow them.

And even to young men like Kitita they seem near:

Yes, the shades come to us in dreams at night. Perhaps I dream of my father who has died, he appears, he gives me a cow, I wonder, it seems that I have gained that cow. I rejoice and am glad. This is all in a dream. Perhaps my mother has died and I dream of her. She gives me food as it were on this table. I eat, I drink beer with her. Our very they would dream that they and the shades, the fathers who had died, were fighting with the Ngoni; in the dream they would spear them and the blood would appear. All men dream, but those whose dreams come true we call *abasisi*—prophets. These men sometimes dream of public matters, as well as private, they go to Kasitile [the priest] and say: 'Hunger is coming, carry out the ritual in the sacred grove.' Then they take a cow, bananas, and milk to the sacred grove as Kasitile says. Then there are those who fall into a fit and the friends of such a man go to Kasitile and tell what he said.

Perhaps I dream of my father or grandfather, and he comes and gives me food. I know him by his appearance in the dream. Perhaps my grandfather died while I was still a child, but I know him by his dress

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775 and appearance—the mind of a child is tenacious. If one comes whom
•828 I never knew, I note his appearance in the dream and next day I tell my friends and relatives about it. Then perhaps an old woman, my grandmother, will say: 'That is how So-and-so used to look.' Perhaps I dream of someone wearing brass body-rings, with a plume nodding on his head. Then the older ones know him and tell me it is So-and-so. In the old days, in the days of our mothers, if we dreamed of eating food like this my relatives would say: 'They have come to fetch him; he will get disease and die soon; he has eaten the food of the shades.'
775 But in European times now it is different. . . . Our mothers fear such
828 dreams; there is a medicine to put on the walls. If I always dream like
177 this they bring it and say: 'It's forbidden to dream of the shades.'

QUESTION: And now?

KITITU: Now if dreams come true we say that the man who had dreamed is a prophet.

828 QUESTION: Are all dreams pregnant with trouble?

KITITU: Yes, dreams usually mean trouble. Suppose I love a girl and want to marry her, and then I dream of marriage, of having the cattle and going and being accepted by her fathers who are all present [in the dream], then I rejoice and I hope.[1] Then I begin to think of going to earn the cattle, and I go to work and come back with three or four cattle and go to hand over the marriage-cattle. All ends happily, but it might not. Perhaps they will accept me, perhaps not.

At work I dream that a sister has died, and I find it is true, then I think other dreams will be true. . . . I fear that perhaps my death is near. I go to a doctor and say I want a medicine, he gives me some to put under my head and sleep on. He grinds a medicine and tell me to sprinkle it in the room.

775 It is generally agreed that dreams of the dead are not welcomed:
828 [illegible] they are dead.' Then I take a coal from the fire and say: 'Do not come in dreams.' If the shade comes it always means trouble.

And the only occasions of prayer to the shades are when men are in trouble and anticipate misfortune.

We never pray except when there is trouble. No, we never pray to give thanks. Why should we? There is nothing to grumble at!

673 (c) *Belief and behaviour*

753 In the Nyakyusa view there is a direct and immediate link be-
777 tween misfortune and wrong-doing. When illness befalls a man,

[1] Kititu's father delayed long in providing him with marriage-cattle. The following year he eloped with a girl.

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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and kill many people. The chief, Mwenemusuku, protected his land in the manner described in the chapter on "The Powers of Evil," and none of his people were killed, though the total killed by a lion in that year in neighbouring districts was very large. A letter in my possession puts the number at forty, while others say fifty. Where the chief protected his land in the traditional way, the people were safe; where this was not done, the toll of human lives was great.

In 1922 the same woman predicted that, for the sins of the people, a spotted hyena would kill many. Again the chief protected his land, and again no one was killed; while in a neighbouring and unprotected land, the death-roll was considerable. In the same year leopards were predicted in the Nserya district. The chief was urged to sacrifice an ox, but refused. Six people were killed, and a number of mauled men and women were treated by Dr. Brown at the Mission at Itete.

To the Konde, as I have already said, there is no difficulty in connecting prediction and fulfilment. The inspiration of the foretellers is not doubted; the animals came as foretold; why should reasonable men refuse to acknowledge a relation between the two events? At any rate it may be presumed that the native will go on seeing a connection, while the white man will fall back upon the ever-ready doctrine of coincidence, and refuse upon any terms to acknowledge any other relation.

There is, however, spirit possession of another kind,

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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●828 which is still a terror to many people: sheer evil spirits, who seek to take possession of a human being as a dwelling-place. Possessed children hide themselves, crying out, "*Abandu, abandu*" (men, men). Adults reveal their possession by dashing about, dancing, shouting. If the possessed makes for water, it is known that a water spirit has entered into him; if he goes to the hills, it is a mountain spirit. In either case the patient is taken by the medicine man to a waterfall, "where God dwells," and given medicine to drink. If he resists, force is used, but frequently the doctor is impressive enough to succeed without it. A bell is rung; the doctor speaks, "We have found you. Come out of the man." Then he takes water into his mouth and squirts it on the breast and back of the afflicted person, striking him at the same time with the calabash from which he took the water, and holding it for a little over the patient's head. Next he sprinkles the whole body with flour, and the party returns to the village, where every one is required to drink a medicine administered by the doctor; for when the spirit goes out of its present victim, he will seek another dwelling, but the medicine protects all who drink it from invasion. The patient must not shave his head for six to eight months, nor may he eat flesh of any kind. When the period prescribed is over, the doctor comes to shave the head of the patient, who has now recovered, and eats part of a fowl which has been treated with yet another medicine.

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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787 so insulted him. This does not apply to an invitation
578 to drink beer, but no one can explain why there is a difference.

3. Accusations against a man of good character come under the same heading. Some evil has been done, and the wrong-doer has not been discovered. Then, perhaps in joke, or it may be out of personal dislike, some one says that so and so did it. The person referred to knows that his days will not be long in the land. "Did I ever do a thing like that?" he asks indignantly. "Why, then, am I accused?" It can only be *kunikura*, and he expects to die, at the best, within a year or two.

787 4. If the spirits, in dreams, offer food, it must not
828 be accepted, even in the dream: to accept it means death.

787 Connected with the foregoing, but having a
578 different name among the Konde, are insults or
593 injuries to parents. A man who fights with his father, and throws him down, has achieved the final wickedness. Whether the old man was right or wrong in the matter in dispute is of no consequence; the whole community expresses its abhorrence of the deed. "Has this man reached even to God?" that is to say, does he consider himself the equal of God, that he does such things? Word is sent to the chief, and the whole district is informed of the evil thing that has been done. There is no formal denunciation, no spoken curse; but the *ilugwa*, the curse of all fathers, and of all ancestors, is upon the son. He becomes lame; then unable to stand upright; finally he

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754 all speed to its "father." Should the victim have the good fortune to kill it, it will return to its original elements, and appear before him as a mere root of a tree.

The next class of people who possess destructive powers are the poisoners. Direct evidence is naturally hard to get, for the poisoner must act in secret. The poison need not be administered directly, though that is often done; if placed where the victim will touch it, it is enough; over the door, where it will drip on his head, or on the threshold, where he will touch it with his foot. Death will follow. In 1905 a man called Ulukamba had a quarrel with a neighbour, and sent his son to place medicine in the doorway of his enemy. Two days later a son of the latter died suddenly. The boy who placed the medicine gave away the secret, by telling some one, and Ulukamba was put to the poison test, which condemned him, and he was ordered to pay over two cows. He refused, threatened to inform the magistrate that the chief had consented to the poison ordeal, and the case had to be dropped. But the belief that he killed the boy is still firmly held by all the people of his village. There was no case against the boy who placed the medicine, as he was obeying orders issued by his father.

• 928 593 The destructive power of anger is firmly believed in by the Konde. To speak the name of a brother in anger, is strictly forbidden, for it may lead to his death. The process is rationalised thus: the spirits hear the words of anger, and, assuming that there is

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good reason for it, send a disease, or engineer an accident which kills the person named. A well-known doctor, named Mwenekasangamara, now dead, was credited with wider powers. If he spoke in anger the name of any person within his family, and that was a very wide circle, that person would die. But he had the privilege of withdrawing, and so neutralizing the effect of his anger. The underlying idea is that it is contrary to God's law to speak evil of dignities; if the person spoken against, like Mwenekasanganara, heard of it, his anger would be aroused, and the spirits would come to his support.

A daughter who despised her father, might be punished with barrenness if her father so desired. Mwenekasangamara imposed this punishment on a married daughter, and the curse was not removed until she had made proper atonement, and soon afterwards her infirmity was corrected. Another well-known case is that of a man called Songwe, living at Lupoko, whose daughter aroused his wrath to such a degree that he called upon his ancestors to destroy her. She became ill the same day, and died the next. This was in December, 1912. In the light of modern psychological beliefs, there is nothing impossible in the story.

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753 the use of both drugs and ceremonies. Next, the action of the spirits brings on diseases, and until the cause of their anger has been dealt with, no doctor will undertake to cure the patient. Wounds or injuries in battle, by falling trees, by attack of animals, or by any other means, may be due to any of the above causes.

759 The doctor may be a man or a woman. The fee varies from about a farthing to a sixty shilling cow, and the manner of payment varies also. In some cases payment precedes treatment; in others, it follows; and in still others the degree of cure effected decides the amount to be paid.

757 In what follows, no attempt is made at scientific classification; rather a rough grouping of symptoms guides the sequence of items. Medicines are usually administered in beer or in milk, hot or cold, according to the disease which is being treated. And the place where the decoction is drunk is very important; in snake bite, for instance, it is fatal for the patient to go inside the house before the medicine has been taken which it is hoped will save his life. A native Christian was, in 1913, suspended from ordinances for drinking medicine while seated on a banana stem at a place where two paths met.

• 828 757 278 Mental troubles of various kinds are treated, and not, I am assured, without success in some cases. *Maya* is grief, due to any cause. It is treated by giving an infusion of a plant called *mabe*, not unlike parsley in appearance. The result is great cheerfulness in the patient, due, no doubt, to exhilarating qualities in

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the plant. *Ipingu* is sadness, or anger. The parents or relatives of an absent friend, having no news of him for some time, give way to grief or anger, and the emotion causes illness in the absent one. The latter goes to the diviner to learn why he is ill, and is told. The leaves of a plant called *inyekenyeke* are pounded and boiled in water, and the infusion drunk, the patient saying in the presence of the doctor:

828 ● 757 278

"Let the words of those people fall back upon them. I have spoken no evil; I am not a hard man. God and the spirits behold me. May I get sleep."

Minyenya is nightmare. The actual meaning of the word is *ancestors*, and the bad dreams are due to their action. It is cured by an infusion of the plant *katetya*, taken while repeating the incantation: "We drive you away, you who trouble us. Leave our friend that he may sleep." *Amabela* is disobedience to parents or relatives. Take the brain of *inkungulu* and *munyu*, and add the flesh of the fish *ingumba*; reduce to a powder, and mix with beer in a small calabash. This the disobedient one is forced to drink three or four times, nothing being left in the calabash. I have no doubt at all that most children find obedience less obnoxious than the mixture. Similar success attends the use of a drug made from the *malombwa* tree. The *kasoka* is a tiny creature which covers itself with scraps of grass, and moves by using its head as a lever. It is a sovereign remedy, when mixed with other drugs, for madness, as well as for that form of madness which

makes a woman unfaithful to her husband. For *impulamutu*, a brain trouble which makes the sufferer strike his head against trees or other hard objects, there is a cure, but I have not discovered what it is. For dizziness, an infusion is made from the roots of the *kalemerera* plant, and the patient first drinks, then washes his face with, the infusion. Epilepsy is treated with a mixture made from the roots and leaves of many plants. The mouth is forced open if necessary when the drink is being administered. Natives assert that cures are effected, but I know of no cases that have been cured.

There is no disease more common among the Bantu peoples than ulcers, sores, abscesses. The common *kironda* is treated with a wash made from the infusion of pounded *burungo* leaves. If it does not yield to treatment, it is due to witchcraft or spirits, and in either case the necessary preliminaries must be gone through. A special form of this disease is found when the ulcers break out on the breast or in the mouth. The diseased part is washed with an infusion of *indobo* bark, and another infusion is taken internally twice a day for a few days. A more malignant form is called *ndwiska*, for which the leaves of the plant *kanga* are infused, and applied as for *kironda*, with the same ceremonies, if a cure is not effected within a reasonable time. *Mpenga* is a slightly different form of *ndwiska*. *Kabimba* is something of the nature of an inside tumour which must be let out. Roots of the *kabimba* shrub are reduced to a dry powder, spread on the leaf of the *mtengata* tree, and bound to

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The shade is the principle of life represented by seed, or the root of a banana, or a tree growing by a grave;[1] the hero embodied a vital force which caused grain to sprout and clay cattle to breathe. The line between a hero, the shade of one of his successors, and the shade of a chief is a very faint one. They all have power over people other than their descendants and are approached by hereditary priests. As some elderly men of Ngonde put it: 'The nobles, not the living Kyungu, go to the groves of the Kyungus to pray; they go because the Kyungus who have died are shades to us all (*bo bayuka betu tuvene*).'

The heroes had miraculous power but it differed in degree, rather than in kind, from that possessed by their descendants. Like that of the divine kings and chiefs it lay both in their own bodies and in medicines, especially the *ifugila* which is still used by chiefs.

Kyala and Lwembe dwell 'beneath' (*pasi*) with the shades, as opposed to 'above' (*kumwenya*), which implied traditionally 'on earth' not 'in the sky'. There is no hint of a sky god in the traditional system, and the distinction between black and white offerings, which the early missionaries took to be a distinction between offerings to the shades and to a sky god,[2] was unequivocally interpreted by the priests in another fashion. The white (*mundi*) offering to Kyala or Ngululwe is a symbol not of purity, but of an unclouded sky, and the numinous quality of the heroes is conceived of as contamination, not holiness. Like the shades, the heroes must be 'driven off' lest men go mad, and it is when they have driven them away that men are *lolo*—white, innocent, free of anger. Men should be *lolo* but this is never cited as an attribute of the pagan Kyala. It is the terribleness, not the goodness or purity of God of which the Nyakyusa are aware. This is underlined by the fact that a madman who, 'when he comes home rushes off', and 'does not see that his fellows are human beings,' and who 'has a hone heart' (i.e. is passionate and quarrelsome), or 'whose heart curls up like a leaf in the sun, or turns upside down', is called 'Mlimi' or is said to have been 'caught hold of by Kyala'.

Kyala is one hero among others but, as has been shown, the name is also used in the sense of 'the lord'. Kyala as 'the lord' of a commoner or junior kinsman is distinct from Kyala the hero with his own place in a genealogy and his own shrine. The difference

[1] Monica Wilson, *Rituals of Kinship*, pp. 103-5, 111 *et passim*.

[2] E. Fülleborn, *Das Deutsche Njassa- und Ruwuma-Gebiet*, pp. 320-6.

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her by his anger, others that the husband was to blame for rejecting medical treatment earlier on. The girl herself was reported to have said to her mother-in-law, when she was lying ill at the doctor's house: 'Are you angry with me and has your anger caused the trouble? Perhaps I did not help you in collecting firewood?' But her mother-in-law replied: 'No, I am not angry with you at all.' And the girl continued: 'I know that my father is angry. Someone might go and ask him to pray for me.' There was also tension with the husband's pagan father who had protested that his son was praying for the death of his own children when he prayed with his Pentecostal friends that God's will be done. 'The Pentecostal people say: "I like to die. I don't take any medicine . . . if someone dies or not it is all the same thing."'

Nevertheless, it is true to say that the field in which natural causation is accepted is much wider among Christians than among pagans. It expands very slowly, but the change is evident. Even two cases of 'madness' (*ukuleya ikigili*), invariably the symptom of the wrath of the gods in pagan thought, were interpreted to us by a Christian teacher in terms of grief and shock. The first was of a young man whose wife and grandmother (who lived with him) both died very suddenly, and whose only cow was taken by other relatives and killed for the funeral feast. The loss of the cow following he loss of his wife and grandmother was held to have shattered him finally—'the lineage was finished'. The other case was of a mother, devoted to her daughter, who was distraught when the daughter went off to a distance, accompanying her husband to his place of work. For a daughter to marry beyond easy visiting distance was traditionally inconceivable.

The vagaries of the weather, attributed by the pagans to the neglect of sacrifices or quarrels between chiefs and priests, are explained in scientific terms by some Christians. Heavy rain fell around Rungwe in October 1937 and prevented people burning their rubbish heaps to fertilise their millet gardens. The pagans insisted that such early rain was unheard of and kept asking each other what could have caused it. A Christian elder assured us that the early rain was not very unusual in the hill country; he had seen other seasons like it. And in January of the same year the people of Mwaipopo's country were 'astonished' because no heavy rain had fallen and young maize and millet were shrivelling in the ground. They said: 'It has rained all round' and 'it seems as if we had offended Kyala'. Kasitile went to divine (*vide supra*, p. 115).

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against the wrong-doer. It is supposed that after this procedure sickness or even death may come to that person. Another method consists of laying a bewitched object on the path usually used by the offender; with the same result. Such bewitching is practised, for instance, when a quarrel has broken out between relatives. With the Nyakyusa any quarrelling with kinsmen is considered a very serious crime, as such a conduct is apt, in their estimation, to destroy the highly-valued family harmony.

3. Another day a ceremony (*ubunyago*)[7] to end mourning was held at Katumba. Some time before an older child had died, and now they were gathered to take leave of the dead[8].

At some distance from the hut, on the open space before it, a square represented the grave, in which the blossom of a banana[9] was interred, representing the dead. The mourners knelt at this grave and touched it with their elbows, knees and foreheads[10]. Each of the chief mourners had to do this, according to the belief of the Natives, lest he should fall into madness.

The next act was performed by the *wanyago*[11], the leading person of the ceremony, one in full knowledge of the rites. Immediately before the door of the hut of the mourning parents, the *wanyago* threw the collections of corn, brought by the participants in small baskets in honour of the dead, together into a big basket, and uttered the names of the contributors addressing the dead. The other participants repeated these names.

Then the mourners went into the hut; but, after some moments, they reappeared one by one and each one, as he left the door in a crouching position, was softly struck on his neck by the *wanyago* with a piece of the trunk of a banana plant. It was explained to me that this ceremony would induce new strength to the mourners, who were weakened by the death of their relative.

The portion of the ceremony which followed, consisted in the forming of a line by the mourners between the hut and the grave. The persons now stood straddle-legged on leaves of banana, the *wanyago* at the

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[7] Cf. Wilson, Conventions of Burial, p. 8, n. 6: *munyago*.

[8] Wilson has described burials (Ufipa, eg.) of adult persons; nevertheless, I think, my description will be of some value.

[9] Cf. my Chaga Notes, Baessler Studien, XV, p. 262.

[10] Cf. Pöllabauer, p. 256.

[11] Cf. Merkensteijn, p. 260; cf. *banyago*, p. 91; Wilson, Introduction, p. 36, *wanyago* (hereditary priests).